

5 February 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Morning Meeting of 5 February 1969

Godfrey called attention to testimony by Lieutenant Murphy, the Pueblo's Executive Officer, which reveals that their loran positioning plot at the time of seizure locates the Pueblo inside North Korean territorial waters because they had not factored into their calculation the usual five-mile error. Consequently, the ship's chart shows the Pueblo well within Korean waters.

*Godfrey noted the article by Anatole Shub in this morning's Washington Post regarding absenteeism in the Politburo. Godfrey observed that, while it is clear that someone within the Kremlin is pushing for a reorganization, OCI is as yet unable to put all of the pieces in place but is attempting to follow all trends suggesting any revival of so-called Stalinism. The Director asked the DD/P to query Radio Liberty analysts with a view toward obtaining their assessment of current trends in Moscow. The Director noted that the situation is ripe for some change and encouraged OCI to give the matter continuous, close attention.

D/ONE provided the Director with a memorandum evaluating the above-mentioned Shub article and noted that an Estimate on Soviet trends and foreign policy is scheduled to be considered by USIB on or about 20 February. The Director suggested that work on the Estimate be expedited if practical.

*DD/S called attention to the deterioration of electrical cables servicing the lights in various Headquarters area parking lots. He attributed the cause to seepage and to the fact that GSA let the installation contract to the lowest bidder, who is now out of business. The Director noted that the cables will obviously have to be replaced but asked that the DD/S identify the GSA person or office with whom he can lodge a strenuous complaint.

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Maury reported that he saw Senator Bayh and Ed Braswell yesterday with respect to the Ervin bill and noted that in time it may be necessary to see Senator Ervin himself. The Director recalled that we consulted with Senator Tydings on this matter in the past and asked Maury to consider approaching him again.

Maury reported Ed Braswell's observation that Congressional opinion is indeed split on the advisability of implementing the Sentinel program. He noted that Senator Stennis seems to be waffling on the matter and that his principal concern is whether our final position vis-a-vis the Sentinel system will affect Soviet implementation of the Galosh system.

Maury reported that [redacted] of OCI will be briefing Senator Spong.

Maury reported that Bruce Clarke is now scheduled to brief the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee next week. Given Mr. Clarke's heavy workload, the DD/I suggested that [redacted] take the briefing. The Director once again emphasized the need to coordinate carefully the substance of briefings pertaining to the ABM problem.

Maury expressed his concern that Senator Russell may compare the Director's letter to Senator Symington on the Pueblo mission with the substance of the briefing he received on this matter from Admiral Taylor. The Director related that he did not know Senator Symington would publish his letter (published in the New York Times and Washington Post this date) but expressed the view that it is important to make it clear at this time that we did not control the operation and are perfectly capable of handling any question which might be raised with respect to Agency participation in the relevant 303 Committee meeting.

Houston reported that yesterday's court hearing of the Applegate case went extremely well, with the judge discarding irrelevant allegations.



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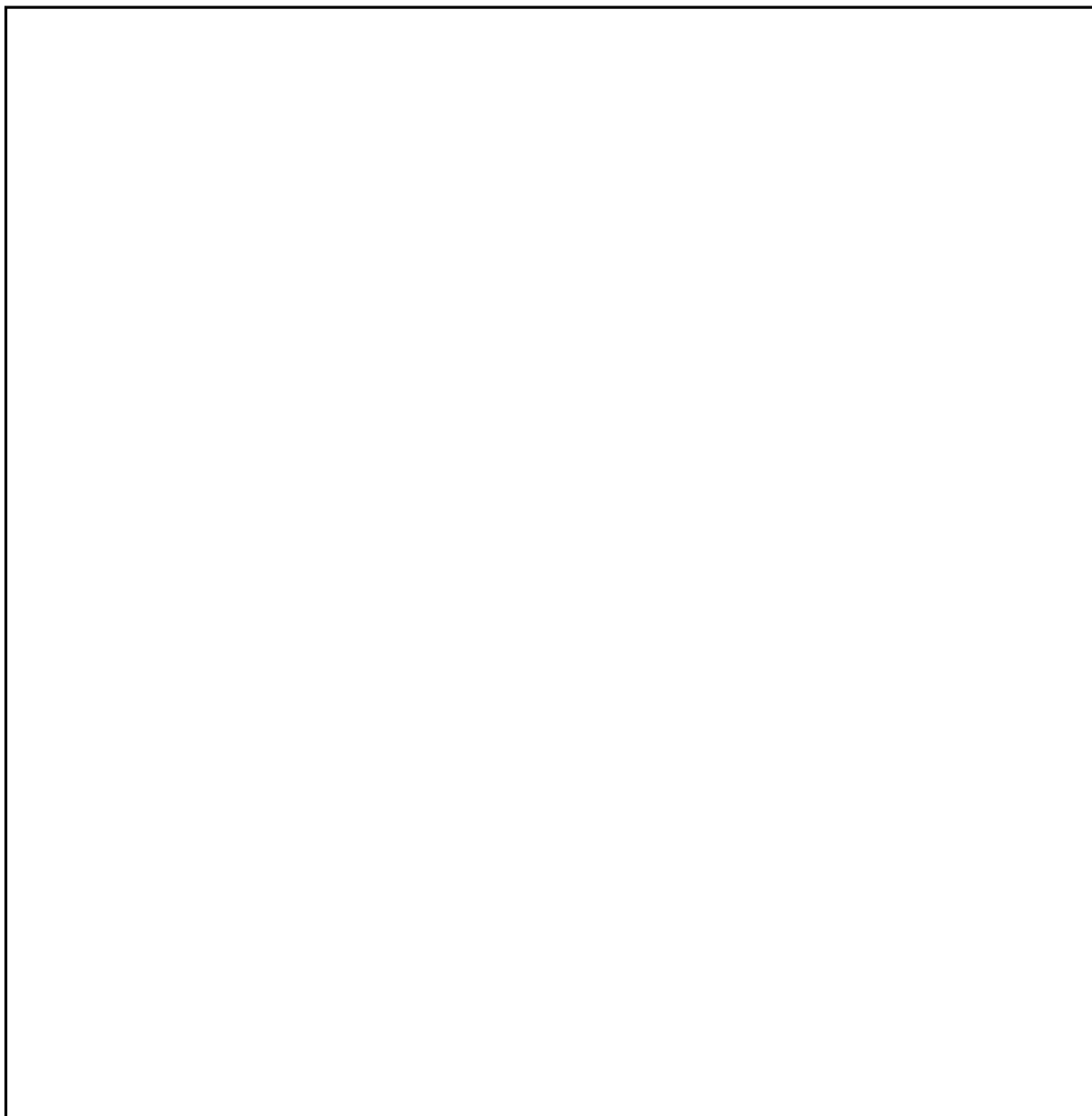
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DD/S&T noted that members of his staff were briefed on the U. S. Navy R&D program yesterday. The briefing had been arranged by Admiral Taylor, and the DD/S&T noted that it was extremely useful.

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The Director stated that he would like to meet either tomorrow or perhaps early next week with those concerned with reacting to NSC requirements.

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*The Director called attention to Senator Fulbright's tasking Senator Symington with responsibility for examining U. S. foreign political and military commitments. In this connection, the Director asked Bross to report to him on the status of [] study on overseas installations.

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The Director noted that there will be no Morning Meeting on 6 or 7 February unless the Executive Director or others have reason to meet.

*The Director noted that we will surely become involved, through testimony or otherwise, in the current ABM debate. He asked the DD/S&T to seek to pull together all relevant material which carefully sticks to the facts as we know them and is cast in a noncontroversial posture. He asked Maury to be alert to potential problem congressmen and to circulate advance notice of same wherever possible.

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[]
L. K. White

*Extracted and sent to action officer

Soviet Organ Hits Party Leadership

By Anatole Shub
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Feb. 4—An authoritative Soviet journal for Communist Party functionaries today expressed what Western observers considered to be strong although veiled criticism of the current Politburo and top Party leadership.

In another development, a lengthy final communique on the visit of a Czechoslovak National Front delegation failed to mention that the delegation's leader had met with Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Brezhnev.

Earlier in the day, a brief Tass bulletin had reported Brezhnev's meeting with Evzen Erban, head of the Czechoslovak delegation.

The joint communique omitted Brezhnev altogether, while

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Soviet Organ Criticizes Party's Leadership

SOVIET, From A1

carefully noting that the delegation had called on Soviet President Podgorny, and had meetings with Party ideologist Mikhail Suslov, Trade Union chief Alexander Shelepin, and Party Secretaries Ivan Kapitonov, Konstantin Katushev and Boris Ponomarev.

There was no immediate explanation for the omission of the Party's nominal chief. Some observers thought it might be due to the fact that Brezhnev had met only Erban, not the entire delegation, and perhaps only briefly. Others suggested that Brezhnev may not have approved the relatively conciliatory joint communiqué.

Most analysts, however, linked the omission to increasing rumors over the past fortnight of possible shifts in the Kremlin power structure. They noted that both Shelepin and Kapitonov, who is Party secretary for personnel, had been unusually active outside their normal fields in the past week.

Usual Duties

Suslov and Ponomarev have traditionally dealt with foreign Communist visitors over many years, while Katushev, a newcomer, was assigned to these functions last April. Suslov, Ponomarev and Shelepin were among those along with Premier Kosygin, who is still absent-reported to have opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia last August.

The article considered a criticism of the Politburo was on "Collectivity in Work" and was published in the bimonthly Partinaya Zhizn (Party Life).

Observers believed the views expressed in the article tended to confirm recent reports here of dissatisfaction in the Central Committee and among regional leaders over the numerous important decisions taken in the 11-man Politburo.

The article insisted on the "full power of the Central Committee," which in Lenin's words meant "not only to advise and persuade but actually to conduct the orchestra." It declared that gatherings of the Party functionaries are necessary "not for form, not for parade, but for really business-like judgments on daily problems."

An implicit condemnation

of recent Kremlin practice came in a discussion of the frequency of Party gatherings. "Here and there in large Party organizations," Partinaya Zhizn asserted, "they have altogether stopped calling meetings, replacing them with 'enlarged' sessions of committees, meetings of the activists, etc. One still encounters meetings with weak attendance by Communists, insufficient activity of members and candidates, with formalistic resolutions obligating nobody to anything."

There has been unofficial criticism of the manner in which the Politburo managed last year's crisis in Czechoslovakia. The decision to invade was reported to have been taken by an "enlarged" session of the Politburo on the weekend of August 17-18, and the Central Committee was not convened until November.

Partinaya Zhizn said that true centralism "has nothing in common with the anti-scientific raising of centralism to the absolute," as in China where the Mao Tse-tung group had placed itself above the Communist Party and "paralyzed the ac-

tivity of its central and local organs." Collective leadership the journal declared in bold type, means expressing "the will of the majority."

Leader's Responsibility

The article also stressed the "personal responsibility" of Party leaders, whose duties include "of course, personal encounters with the masses, regular visits to localities, to the producing collectives." Brezhnev and his colleagues have done little of this, compared with former Party Chief Nikita Khrushchev.

"The Party leader," the journal said, "is not an individual ruler. He is an entrusted agent of the Party masses, implementing their will and responsible to them. His duty is never to abandon the interests of the Party, to be demanding and principled, not to permit mutual protection or personal hostility to them. His duty is never dissension, mutual mistrust or servility and thus disorganizes the collective."

Partinaya Zhizn reminded its 900,000 readers that the Party's highest authority is

the Party Congress, and that Lenin considered the active participation of "all" members in preparing a Congress "absolutely indispensable."

According to the Soviet Party statutes, the 24th Congress should be held not later than March, 1970—which means that preparations should begin within the next half-year. There has been no sign yet as to when the Congress may be convened.

The journal also pointed out that the last Congress in 1966 adopted provisions for holding, as in Lenin's time, special national Party conferences between Congresses when necessary. The possibility of a special Party conference had previously been raised only in an Estonian theoretical journal late last year.

Partinaya Zhizn's oblique remarks intensified the general sense among foreign observers that important decisions on Party policy and, possibly, personnel are impending.

Among other signs of apparent disarray today were:

- Another article in Sovetskaya Rossiya's series of jeremiads against the liberal intellectuals, again attacking the magazines Novy Mir and Theatr, as well as unnamed figures in the press, radio, television and cinema.

This newspaper has continued leading the campaign for "vigilance" even while most other Soviet papers have dropped it. The paper is considered by some to reflect the views of Brezhnev, by others as a spokesman for elements in the Committee on State Security (KGB).

- A strange article in Izvestia on state discipline by a Leningrad Party secretary, which called for exactingness toward implementation of decisions and fulfillment of duties by personalities "irrespective of their rank and station."

The leader must be the most exacting, Izvestia said: "If you wish that others firmly carry out their responsibilities, then you yourself fulfill them to the highest degree of good

conscience." Nevertheless, "one still encounters leaders" who ignore decisions and flout their independence.

- The continued absence of Premier Kosygin and recurrent rumors, semiofficially inspired, of his illness despite last week's official denials. Kosygin's last public appearance was on Dec. 20.

Among other puzzling absences are Party Secretary and Politburo member Andrei Kirilenko, away for eight weeks, and Party Secretary for Agriculture Fyodor Kulakov, absent for more than 12 weeks. Kulakov missed last November's Central Committee meeting on agriculture, and was also not reported present at a special conference on agricultural science which opened today.